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libre!

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GRAND JURY REPRESSION REACHES INTO SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The U.S. government's repression of the Puerto Rican independence movement has expanded to the solidarity movement here in the United States. Martha Schwartz, a member of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, was subpoenaed on May 13 to appear before a grand jury investigating alleged Puerto Rican terrorist activities.

The solidarity movement, which brought together 20,000 people in Madison Square Garden on October 27, 1974, is today reaching even larger numbers of people in this country. It is no accident that this subpoena comes six weeks before the July 4th mobilizations, which will highlight among its demands independence for Puerto Rico. We reprint in these pages excerpts from the statement Schwartz presented in response to the grand jury subpoena.

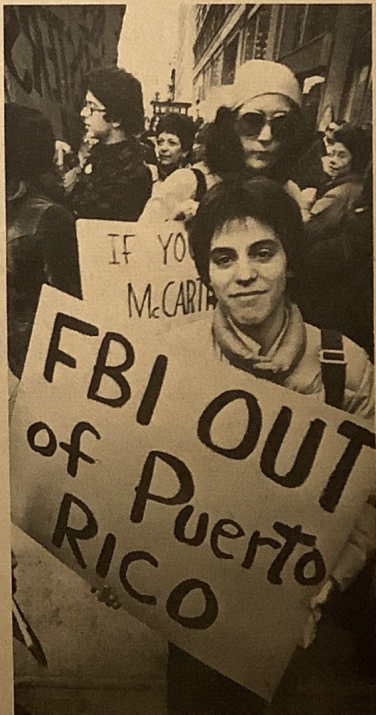
"The government has required me to come here today to participate in its scenario for violence: the brutal destruction of the Bill of Rights.... This Grand Jury has already imputed crimes to an innocent person. Lureida Torres is sentenced to go to jail for her refusal to participate in this governmental abuse.

"I stand side by side with Lureida. She is being harassed solely because of her devotion to the independence of Puerto Rico, her homeland, and her dedicated work to insure the well being of working people in Puerto Rico and the United States.

"Clearly, any attack on the Bill of Rights is an attack on us all. However, the choice of targets is neither insignificant nor accidental. Previous witnesses dragged to this grand jury have all been Puerto Rican. Like many unsafe pharmaceutical products, the abuse of civil liberties was first tested here with Puerto Ricans. With my subpoena it now moves to a North American target.

(Continued on P. 16)

All Out July 4!



Demonstration protesting FBI and grand jury inquisition, at FBI headquarters in NYC on April 8, 1976.

Puerto Rico Libre!

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in solidarity

ALL OUT ON JULY 4th—by Rosa Borenstein

By all estimates, including the government's, we have succeeded in giving a powerful new meaning to the Fourth of July. At least 50,000 people from all parts of the country are committed to be in Philadelphia for what will be a history making protest demonstration on the United States' 200th birthday.

We can be sure that our voices will be heard throughout the country and around the world. And this is what most deeply troubles our government.

The government has set one objective for July 4th: to project to the world that the people of the United States are unified in all aspects—that we support all the current domestic and foreign policies of the Ford administration, and accept the government's interpretation of history.

The few who run this country are trying to transform this July 4th into a "plebiscite," to obtain a mandate to further imperialist plunder abroad and further oppression and exploitation at home. But instead, we know that hundreds of thousands of people will affirm their struggles against union busting, for living wages and jobs, against racism, for the full equality of women, and for national independence, peace and justice for the peoples of the world.

In doing this we will show the world that there is only one legitimate unity for the people of this country: the unity forged by people joining together on the basis of equality in a national alliance against the attacks directed at the working people and the oppressed nationalities of our country.

The July 4th demonstrations are of extraordinary importance to the development of international solidarity with the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle. By giving the demand for Puerto Rico's independence such importance in the July 4th demonstrations, we are signaling the world to deepen its own active support for the Puerto Rican struggle.

We in the United States dealt a powerful blow against U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam war. We must increase that effort many times over in our support to the people of Puerto Rico.

Today, the U.S. Government is focusing attention on the organizers of the July 4th mobilization precisely because of the strong support for Puerto Rican independence that will be proclaimed that day. It is spreading allegations that Puerto Ricans and North Americans are planning to bomb the official ceremonies in Philadelphia. Most recently, a member of our own organization, Martha Schwartz, was called before a grand jury to answer questions about bombings. The FBI made a special point of mentioning "July 4th" to one of her employers. We know that the imperialism, economically and politically, Federal repression aimed at holding back the independence movement is a preview of what the anti-imperialist working class movement and the struggle of oppressed nationalities in this country will face as they gain strength and influence.

While we cannot prevent the government from spreading its hysterical allegations in the mass media, we must take measures to undo the lies, and we must show that the Puerto Rican people are our allies in our fight against U.S. imperialism.

We know there is little popular confidence in our government today. At the same time, the people's victories in Indochina and Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, combined with the economic crisis of imperialism, have significantly changed the world balance of forces.

The Puerto Rican independence movement, like other liberation movements in the Third World, is on the offensive. Conditions are ripe for a new level of unity in this country to ultimately defeat U.S. imperialism. The July 4th Coalition is an important catalyst in the development of that unity. The July 4th mobilization will be the culmination of far reaching and energetic nationwide organizing. It could be the beginning of a new, united, popular based anti-imperialist movement.

COMPACT RAILROAD STILL ON TRACK

Before the 94th Congress ends in early October, sectors of the U.S. government have made it clear that they will try to stage a Puerto Rican "Gulf of Tonkin" operation, by railroading through Congress the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States."

The bill, now in its second draft, is still being discussed in the House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs which is chaired by Rep. Philip Burton (D-CA). Although the bill has not budged from that Subcommittee, where it originated in January, Burton and Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner in Washington, Jaime Benítez, have emphatically stated that they are determined to move this bill through the Congress before the 94th session is over. In fact, the Puerto Rico Information Service, a U.S.-based public relations arm of the Commonwealth government, has urged that the bill be pushed through Congress by early summer so it can be used in a U.S. counterattack on the independence movement in the UN this August.

Direct evidence of plans to railroad the bill through behind-the-scenes maneuvers was inadvertently put into the hands of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) on May 10. During the first public meeting called by the Subcommittee since hearings were held in San Juan on March 20-21, one of Burton's aides gave a member of the PRSC a copy of the latest draft with a notation written on the front page, "As sent to W.H. 4/13/76."

According to PRSC Executive Secretary Rosa Borenstein

this is clear proof that for almost one full month, while all inquiries made by the PRSC to Burton's office and to the (Continued on P. 15)



Arthur Kinoy, of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, labeled the Compact "The Permanent Colony Bill"

GOVERNMENT MISCONDUCT TERMED "A WATERGATE"

In one of the most scandalous trials in U.S. jurisprudence the United States Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been caught with their pants down. Elizabeth Schneider of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, one of the lawyers for Delfin Ramos Colog, termed her client's trial a "Watergate of the Justice Department," baring the government's attempt to discredit and disrupt the independence movement.

Federal District Judge Juan R. Torruellas, who heard the case, was scandalized. In his closing remarks he said: "I would like to state for the record that all of the time I have been practicing law and in the short time that I have been a judge, I have never seen such incredible and outrageous conduct on behalf of the government."

On December 14, 1974, Delfin Ramos, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PS), was arrested by the FBI and charged with concealing stolen explosives. FBI agents claimed they found large quantities of remite, an explosive, allegedly stolen from a factory in Manatí, Puerto Rico, earlier that year, when they searched the Ramos house while no one was at home. Earlier in the week two searches by the Island Police, with the family present, turned up nothing. The ball was set very high and Ramos spent 15 days in jail.

A year and a half later on May 4 the case finally came to trial. It was a year of arrests, intimidation of

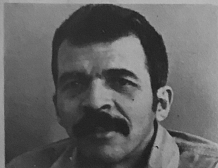
independentistas, their friends and neighbors, and a Federal Grand Jury called to investigate the alleged theft of the infamous remite. The FBI questioned scores of independence movement activists and supporters in connection with this Grand Jury. It was a year of harassment, of insinuation in the press—there were tens of articles linking the independence movement in general, and sometimes the PSP in particular, with the alleged stolen remite. And then...the trial of Delfin Ramos.

A One Day Trial, With No Evidence

The day was still young when the government's case began to fall apart. The prosecuting attorney, Jose A. Gutierrez, had to admit to a very astonished jury that the U.S. Justice Department had no evidence, that sometime ago it had been lost. We reprint a portion of the proceedings for your own judgment.

Mr. Gutierrez: Your Honor, at this time it is my duty to inform you as an Officer of this Court that I have discovered that there are certain problems in connection with the evidence that I was supposed to present to the jury...When this evidence was being transported from San Juan, Puerto Rico—I am referring specifically to blasting caps—it has been brought to my attention that the blasting caps were stolen on the way...There is another problem. There is other documentary evidence which I am advised cannot be obtained. Therefore, it would not be (Continued on P. 14)

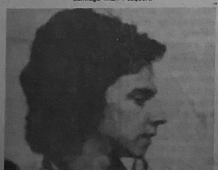
LETTER FROM RAFAEL CANCEL MIRANDA



Rafael Cancel Miranda



Santiago Mari Pesquera



The following letter was published in *Claridad* April 20, 1976. It was written by Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the five Nationalist political prisoners who has served more than 22 years in U.S. prisons for participating in an action against the U.S. Congress, aimed at bringing the colonial case of Puerto Rico before the world.

Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, father of Santiago Mari (Chagu) presented the letter as a symbol of all the messages of solidarity he has received concerning the assassination of his son.

Dear brother Juan:

Although I have expressed to other people the pain and rage that the vile crime carried out against Chagu produced in me—that was at the time carried out against all of us, against our whole people and against human decency—I have waited a while to express to you my grief at what happened. I learned about the event the night of the day it occurred, as a friend called me around ten P.M.—I was in my cell, since they lock us up at that hour—to tell me that there had just been a news bulletin saying that a son of Mari Bras had been assassinated.

Heating that was a thousand times more painful than hearing the sentence of 80 years that the judges gave me. That time I didn't experience any emotion—perhaps because it didn't surprise me—but this time I was electrified with emotions. I seemed to feel your grief in my own soul.

In an hour or two I became possessed by an intense fury—I wanted to do I don't know how many things to answer this fiendish blow. But really, I know, my brother, that unless one controls oneself, blows like these can make savages of us (at least of Rafaelito).

They tell me that Chaguin was a quiet person and, as I told my family, Chaguin, who was so quiet, today has become converted into a cry of love, freedom and justice that carries its vibrations to the heart of our people, and whose echo crosses the seas, demanding justice for his country and his people.

Yesterday he was your son, today he is the son of your people. Yesterday he was hardly known, today millions of us carry him in our conscience and our heart. And through his heroic martyrdom the pain of our country is carried before the world, at the same time that his forced death alerted thousands of combatants. We are put on alert.

Yes, my brother, I also cried inside (in this brutal environment I have lived in, it is not wise to show one's tears)—but these tears, these tears that the people cry before their martyrs and fallen heroes, become the lava of a volcano—let the enemies know this. The people love. They do not hate, but let the enemies know that love makes revolutions and revolutions put an end to despicable elements, to the despicable elements like those who carried out the vile crime against Chaguin and continue committing crimes against our people.

Many are the pains of the people in their struggles against oppression and shamelessness, but they end victorious. Our struggle will triumph, my beloved Juan. On to victory.

I embrace you, Rafaelito

HOSTOS SPEARHEADS SOUTH BRONX FIGHT

"We destroyed the village in order to save it."

This now infamous statement by a U.S. military officer in Vietnam could well apply to the treatment New York's predominantly Puerto Rican South Bronx community is receiving at the hands of city planners.

In response to the escalating war against the poor and working people of the South Bronx, the Community Coalition to Save Hostos staged demonstrations on May 1 and again on May 10, protesting the Board of Higher Education's plans to close down Hostos Community College.

On May 10, several thousand people marched from Harlem downtown past the Board of Higher Education to the midtown offices of the Emergency Financial Control Board, which is running the city, to denounce the conspiracy against the people of the South Bronx. Accusing the EFCB of pulling all the strings in the BHE's master plan, the demonstrators demanded that Hostos remain open, that all bilingual programs continue, and that the Hispanic community's right to self-determination be affirmed.

On May 22 thugs accosted Ramon Jimenez, a leader of the Community Coalition, on a street in the South Bronx, beat and stabbed him, resulting in his hospitalization. Although he is recovering from his wounds, the incident raises serious questions about the use of paid criminal violence against leaders in this community struggle.

A few weeks earlier, nearly a thousand people staged a May Day march through the South Bronx. Despite fierce rainstorms, thousands of local residents cheered from doorways and windows as the march snaked its way from Hostos in the western part of the Bronx to the Hunts Point area. The rains failed to dampen the enthusiasm of speakers who vowed to continue the fight to save Hostos from the axe of the bankers who sit on the EFCB.

Why the attack on Hostos?

Hostos services the Black and Hispanic communities of the South Bronx. Its students—98% Black and Hispanic—are generally older workers, veterans, and others who have been away from school for several years and are now seeking higher education. The median age of Hostos students is 27.

Besides being the only bilingual college east of the Mississippi, Hostos serves its community by graduating highly skilled community health and medical workers. In the meantime, the EFCB has announced plans to shut down

Fordham and Morrisania Hospitals due to "budgetary considerations." Both facilities serve the Spanish-speaking areas of the Bronx, and there is considerable evidence that they are in fact turning a profit overall.

Hostos has an annual rent and maintenance budget of only \$1.6 million, barely a drop in the bucket in a country which allocates more than \$100 billion to military expenditures. So there must be more than just financial reasons for closing down these institutions.

The attack on Hostos is a key to the overall attack on the South Bronx, where 2250 families were victims of arson in the past twelve months. Plans on the drawing board call for the conversion of its land, natural harbors, rail facilities, and "cheap labor" into a profitable development scheme. With overtones of a South Bronx "Marshall Plan," an article in *Fortune* Magazine (November, 1975) suggested that, "Inevitably, the rapid collapse of the South Bronx provides an opportunity for its revival"—minus its population, of course.

Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("big MAC") and liaison with the EFCB, expressed his desire to clear out the people from the area: "Take a 30 block area, clear it, blackout it, and develop an industrial park, with the package of tax, employment, and financing incentives already in place" (quoted by Jack Newfield in the *Village Voice* April 26, 1976). Rohatyn comes well recommended for this kind of job as a director of International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT), which orchestrated the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile. His investment banking firm Lazard-Freres also sought to "develop" the Mekong Delta in Vietnam, where they had an interest in the Bank of Indochina.

In opposition to these plans of some of the largest international financial groups in the world, stands Hostos Community College, a holdout of independentistas in the New York City area. International finance feels obligated to smash the organized base of resistance it finds at Hostos. In a larger sense, Hostos is a focus for a counter-insurgency plan to smash the Puerto Rican independence movement.

But because the stakes are so high, the groups involved in the Community Coalition are determined to resist this attack on their very lives. The National July 4th Coalition has also realized the importance of the struggle around Hostos, and has stressed it as being a manifestation of the whole crisis which it will protest in Philadelphia this coming July 4.

BH



PUERTO RICO AT THE U.N.: 1945-1976

In August of this year the colonial case of Puerto Rico will once again be considered by the United Nations. It is expected that the UN will act on the draft resolution of last year which provided for 1) the recognition of the forces of the Puerto Rican liberation movement as, the legitimate representatives of the Puerto Rican people; 2) the sending of a visiting mission from the UN to Puerto Rico to study first hand U.S. colonial domination; and 3) a demand that the United States immediately cease all repressive actions, the liberty of Puerto Rican political prisoners, and the abandonment of all colonialist maneuvers—for example, the Compact of Permanent Union.

To place this year's upcoming discussion in its fullest perspective this column will trace, in a series of articles, the case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations from its founding in 1945 to the present.

The United Nations Charter drawn up in San Francisco in 1945 was a step forward in the worldwide decolonization process. At that time Don Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, sent a delegation to the San Francisco Conference—together with delegations from other independence movements from around the world, such as India. At its founding meeting the UN drew up a List of Territories which included all those territories, peoples and countries which had not yet attained independence. Puerto Rico was included in that list. And by virtue of Article 73e of the UN Charter, the United States, just as all other colonial powers, was obliged to submit reports to the Secretary General regarding its colonial possessions—including, of course, Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico: Colony or Commonwealth?

In 1953, the General Assembly adopted resolution 748 (VIII)—these Roman numerals refer to the 8th General Assembly), thus relieving the United States of its obligations to submit the reports referred to in Article 73e, in the case of Puerto Rico, because the latter had achieved commonwealth status. The resolution was adopted by a narrow majority of 22 countries in favor, 18 against and 19 abstentions.

In order to obtain such a majority the United States Government had not only to exert all kinds of pressure and carry out endless diplomatic maneuvers, but also shamefully misrepresented the true nature of events which had taken place on the island. The U.S. delegate Mason Sears, as well as Congressman Frances P. Bolton, claimed that a plebiscite was held in 1948 in which the people of Puerto Rico had chosen between Independence, statehood, and association. This was an outright lie.

In addition, resolution 748 was adopted on the assumption that Puerto Rico conducted a referendum in 1952 in which the people of Puerto Rico chose a new legal status for the territory. It suffices to analyze briefly the contents of the spurious referendum and the conditions under which it was held to understand that, far from constituting an expression of the right to self-determination, it was a clinical manifestation of colonialism and the negation of the most elementary national rights of the Puerto Rican people.

The referendum was held under full United States military occupation and in the midst of the most ferocious repression, with prisons full of patriots. A study sponsored by the Commonwealth government itself in 1958 concluded, in the words of British scholar Gordon K. Lewis, that "the compendium of abuses committed by the law-enforcement agencies acting together in the affairs of 1950 and 1954 (mass arrests of pro-independence activists) can only be properly compared to the conduct of the police in the Union of South Africa in arresting for treason citizens who did not subscribe to race segregation in that society." Apart from this, the so-called referendum of 1952 did not allow the voters to opt for independence. They were asked to choose only between the traditional colonial regime which had existed up to that time, and a regime of disguised colonialism, namely the same colonial regime masquerading under the false title of "commonwealth status."



1973 demonstration supporting the case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations.

How did the colonial leaders themselves describe the scope of U.S. Public Law 600 which brought into effect the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Constitution of 1952? In July of 1949, during hearings conducted on this question by the U.S. Congress, the then governor of Puerto Rico stated: "In practice the Constitution will probably be very similar... in practice the degree of self-government will not be different." United States Representative Fred L. Crawford, during the same hearings, stated quite frankly: "Everyone knows that the Federal Relations Law, as amended by Public Law 600, is still in force and that the people of Puerto Rico remain firmly under the supervision of Congress."

It is crystal clear from these statements that the United States retained full control over Puerto Rico, Commonwealth or no. But at the United Nations the United States whistled a different tune.

The lying on the cake was the promise made by the President of the U.S. to the international body during the debate in 1953. The chief U.S. delegate to the UN, Henry Cabot Lodge, stated as follows: "I am authorized to say on behalf of the President that if, at any time, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopts a resolution in favor of more complete or even absolute independence, he will immediately thereafter recommend to Congress that such independence be granted." Let us see what happened to this solemn promise.

Petitions for Greater Autonomy Rejected

In the 1956 elections, the majority party in Puerto Rico (the Popular Democratic Party) included in its program a call for greater self-government for the island. That party having won the elections, the legislature of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution urging the United States Congress to grant a broader measure of self-government to the Commonwealth. Immediately afterward, the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, Dr. Antonio Ferns Isern, introduced in the U.S. Congress a bill incorporating the requests made by the Puerto Rican legislature. Public hearings were held in Washington on this bill (known as the Ferns-Murray Bill), and various executive departments of the U.S. Government (State, Defense and Commerce) submitted memoranda opposing its adoption. This was the same government (the government of President Dwight Eisenhower) which six years earlier made a solemn promise to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Ferns-Murray Bill was never adopted.

In November of 1962, the Puerto Rican legislature passed a further resolution requesting the United States Congress to specify what alternatives the United States would offer as a final solution to the political status of Puerto Rico. This resolution was again brought before the Congress by the Resident Commissioner through the introduction of a bill in the U.S. House. The opposition of the U.S. Government was such that the bill had to be completely redrafted and its only consequence was the establishment of a United States-Puerto Rican commission on the political status of Puerto Rico. The commission, composed of seven Americans and six Puerto Ricans, submitted a report, after several years of bureaucratic proceedings, recommending that a referendum should be held in Puerto Rico. (more on this next month)

The Puerto Rican colonial government's petitions for more autonomy, and the U.S. Congress' consistent rejection of these petitions and reassertion of its authority over the island have been a regular feature of the colonial relationship, before and after the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was established in 1952.

The Declaration for the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples—Resolution 1514 (XV)

On December 14, 1960, after an extensive debate, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved resolution 1514—later called the Magna Carta of Decolonization. Puerto Rico was clearly covered by the language of 1514, which broadened the scope of United Nations action on the problem of colonialism to include not only territories which can be classified as Trust or Non-Self Governing Territories, but all other territories which have not yet attained independence. That last phrase was included in the resolution due to requests made by the Puerto Rican delegation sent to the UN by the Pro-Independence Movement. It is clear that Puerto Rico has not attained independence. No one has asserted otherwise. It is also clear that Puerto Rico is not an integral part of the United States and the courts of the United States itself have so ruled.

Early in this century in *Balzac v. Porto Rico*, the Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Rico had not "become a part of the United States, as distinguished from merely belonging to it." This decision by the Supreme Court has been reaffirmed by the Courts since the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1952.

Another important consequence of resolution 1514 was to clearly establish that independence is a prerequisite for self-determination. The adoption of the 1960 Declaration opened up the possibility for the Puerto Rican people to link their struggle for liberation to the anti-colonial wave which has engulfed the world from the time of its approval.

The following year, in November of 1961, the General Assembly established the Special Committee on Decolonization to implement resolution 1514. The Special Committee, originally composed of 17 delegations and later expanded to 24, met for the first time in March 1962. The first petition it received from any colonial territory was a document from the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico. However, threats from the United States prevented the Committee from even acknowledging receipt of the document.

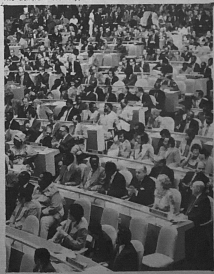
Thus the stage was set for a long uphill battle by the independence movement and its supporters, to place the colonial case of Puerto Rico once again on the agenda of the United Nations and the world.

DB

This article was based on two documents and an interview with Rafael Anglada López, Head of the Puerto Rico Office to the United Nations. The documents were quoted from extensively. They were: "The Colonial Case of Puerto Rico" submitted to the General Assembly by Ricardo Alarcon, Permanent Representative of Cuba to the UN, in August 1971; "The Case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations" by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Next month: The Non-Aligned Movement; The Plebiscite of 1967.

The General Assembly, 1975



THE COMPACT: A New Analysis by Luis Rivera Pagan

Speech delivered in Philadelphia, Pa., on May 19, 1976, by Luis Rivera Pagan, National Coordinator, Puerto Rican Committee of Christians for Socialism.

The colonial administrators in Puerto Rico want to give the Puerto Rican government the maximum of self-government without breaking colonial ties. The latest draft of the Bill of a "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States" which is now before the U.S. Congress reveals the complete inability of the colonial administrators to get more autonomy from Congress, and the inability of Congress to establish a free relationship with Puerto Rico.

Let us analyze this Compact, to show its contradictory and deceptive nature, and to show that it does not give any form of self-government to the Puerto Rican nation.

The first section says: "The people of Puerto Rico constitute an autonomous body politic organized by their own free and sovereign will and in common agreement with the United States," as if it were the case that Puerto Rico, free and sovereign, with an expression of its own national will, had decided to enter into a compact with another nation. The way the Compact expresses the relationship it seems that there are two nations, free and sovereign peoples, that have decided to enter into a permanent marriage. But this has been a marriage by force, not of consent.

Another element of deception is the following: "the people of Puerto Rico, a cultural community of Hispanic language and tradition, citizens of the U.S. as well as citizens of Puerto Rico," as if such a thing as "Puerto Rican citizenship" existed. Puerto Rican citizenship existed until 1917 when the U.S. imposed North American citizenship upon Puerto Rico so that we might get it in time to defend freedom and democracy in Europe.

The document goes on to say that the people of Puerto Rico and the U.S. "have repeatedly affirmed in the Constitutional Convention, in referendums and in a plebiscite specifically held to that effect, their purpose to live in permanent union with the United States. . . . This is a reference to the 1967 plebiscite—a plebiscite which the U.N. itself has recognized does not fulfill the criteria established by international law and by the U.N. for a valid and legitimate plebiscite.

The Compact recognizes the historical right of the people of Puerto Rico to govern themselves according to their own constitutional law. Yet it goes on to say that the U.S. Supreme Court is the final adjudicator of the Compact, the final authority for interpreting this relationship. And, as we will see, the U.S. Congress retains final authority about the fundamental laws prevailing in Puerto Rico.

About security and "common defense" the Compact says: "Laws of the U.S. relating to the defense and national security shall apply to Puerto Rico in accordance with their terms." Then it goes on to say: "The President and the Governor will consult and cooperate to facilitate objectives of defense and national security including the participation of Puerto Rico and its people therein. . . . The original demand of the Popular Democratic Party in framing this Bill was that the governor of Puerto Rico and the government of

Puerto Rico would have the right to decide if the people of Puerto Rico were going to participate in a U.S. war or not. This was eliminated by Congress and rewritten to be vague enough that it might give the impression that the Puerto Rican government might have the power and the right to say to the U.S., "No, we don't want to go to Angola, or to Vietnam." This is a highly misleading type of language designed to deceive the people of the United Nations, and yet the President of the U.S. and the U.S. government retains the final authority on the defense and military affairs of Puerto Rico.

On trade and commerce, the Compact gives final authority over all these affairs to the U.S. Congress. But then comes a very generous article. "Notwithstanding any other provision of law Puerto Rico may import material and articles duty free for subsequent shipment and sale to other parts of the U.S. customs territory, provided that the F.A.S. shipping price contains at least 35% value added in Puerto Rico." This means that the tariff will not be imposed in Puerto Rico if she imports natural raw materials and elaborates it and sends it through to the U.S.

Here, what the Compact is saying is that Puerto Rico will be free to import crude oil, refine it, and send it to the U.S. The U.S. corporations who control the petrochemical industry on the island will benefit from that elimination of tariff. And the U.S. economy will receive refined oil paying less for the crude oil because the tariff barrier is overcome.



Petrochemicals plants in Talibao Valley in the south

What will be the effect for Puerto Rico? More polluted rivers and the sea, more ruin of agriculture and fishing. Therefore, the U.S. will take the benefits while Puerto Rico will take a couple thousand more jobs maybe—neutralized by the environmental pollution, and the jobs that we will lose by greater ruin of agriculture and our fishing industry.

What is hiding behind that article is the economic strategy of the U.S. for Puerto Rico: transform Puerto Rico completely into a petrochemical center with a huge pharmaceutical industry and a deep water port, and with the exploitation of our copper deposits by U.S. corporations. And then there will be absolutely no beautiful Puerto Rico.

The Compact will admit that "the harbor areas and navigable streams and bodies of water in and around Puerto Rico and the adjacent islands, together with the submerged

land underlying the same. . . ." belongs to Puerto Rico. So they recognize that the land of Puerto Rico is Puerto Rican land, which is quite an acknowledgment. But then it goes on to say that the U.S. Secretary of Defense still has the power and authority to decide about defense matters in Puerto Rico—not only with respect to the island of Vieques, a U.S. Naval target practice area, and Roosevelt Roads, a U.S. Naval base, but also excluding Puerto Rico from the Denuclearization Pact which established Latin America as a denuclearized area. On the basis of this Compact, the Secretary of Defense will still make fundamental decisions with respect to the use of that land area regarding defense that will be critical for our survival, not only our well-being as a people and as a nation.



The Central Highlands of Puerto Rico, potential site of strip mining for copper deposits

One element of "concession" relates to the U.S. District Court in Puerto Rico. Up to now, one is required to speak English in that Court. The Compact says "The decisions, pleadings and records of this U.S. District Court in Puerto Rico shall be in Spanish"—that's good—"unless the Court, in the interest of justice and the effective administration of its work shall otherwise determine." Effective administration means that perhaps the judge is a North American, which happens many times in that Court, or perhaps we are dealing with the interpretation of Federal laws and it is better to do it in English so there will be no misunderstanding. So even that concession is so good that it is easily taken away.

The Compact now creates a very interesting joint commission which will work during the next five years. It is composed of six North Americans and six Puerto Ricans who will establish the inapplicability to Puerto Rico of Federal laws pertaining to labor/management relations, labor standards, health, safety and welfare of the worker in the workplace, and ecology. These recommendations, once accepted by the U.S. President and the Puerto Rican governor, become the law unless they are opposed by a majority in both houses of Congress within sixty working days!

Behind this is the idea that the Puerto Rican administration, controlled by the U.S. government and U.S. corporations, shall have the power to lower the standards relating to labor issues and lower the criteria with respect to ecological balance so that greater superexploitation of labor

will take place. This is a way of getting something in through the kitchen, because it could not be gotten in open discussion in the living room. It is a highly dangerous article.

Taken all together, the Compact is an oppressive tool. It is being pushed through Congress because the colonial system in Puerto Rico is now experiencing both an economic and a political crisis.

Today we have a real unemployment rate of close to 45 percent, an inflation rate that is 25 percent higher than in the U.S., 40 percent of our houses are completely inadequate, and more than 50 percent of our people requiring food stamps to survive.

The cost for the U.S. of the preservation of the colonial system is now much higher than it was in the past. Next year, for example, at least \$75 million in subsidies will have to be granted to the petrochemical industry in Puerto Rico. So that the crisis affects the colonial system itself.

We have in Puerto Rico a political crisis as well. The workers' movement is now uniting and struggling not only against the consequences of the colonial system but against the system itself. We are seeing a consolidation of the forces that are struggling for national liberation and those who struggle for the elimination of class and economic exploitation. This alliance has been the key for the liberation of many peoples on this earth. The U.S. knows that, and it knows that this alliance is a knife in the throat of U.S. colonial rule.

To repress that struggle for national liberation they want to rush through this Bill, so that it might appear that self-government has been reached. They want a legal basis for superexploitation of our labor and contamination of our land. They want a pretext for going to the United Nations and saying, "Look, the Puerto Rican situation is already solved, so please don't meddle, don't interfere." They want the possibility to repress those who might struggle against the establishment of a permanent colonial system.

But this Compact will fail. First, because it will deceive no one in the United Nations. Those delegations that will say, "Okay, the Puerto Rican situation is solved," will use this Bill as an excuse, because they know otherwise. But those nations of the world which are a majority in the U.N., and who have known in their own flesh what a colonial system means, and who know the workings of the colonial system to displace itself will not be deceived by something like this. They know the attempts of their own metropolitan powers to quiet the voices of rebellion and liberation in their own history.

And with respect to Puerto Rico, I will tell you that I hope this Bill is not approved. I demand from your struggle that it not be approved. But even if it is approved, we will defeat it in our history. Because the national liberation of Puerto Rico is not one of our desires. It is not an idea. It is not something we want in Puerto Rico. It is something we need for our survival as a people and as a nation. National liberation and our economic independence and the reconstruction of our society is a matter of life and death for us.

We will defeat this Bill. We will defeat the colonial administration that will try to implement it in practice. Because national liberation is for us like the air we breathe, like the food we eat. We will achieve it because we are no better than the Vietnamese people, but we are no worse than them. We will also be an independent and free nation in the world.

LA BORINQUENA



Lola Rodríguez de Tió

It is unclear exactly who wrote the original lyrics to the first known version of *La Borinquena*. Either Spanish tenor Félix Astol or guitarist Francisco Ramírez wrote the song—a love song—and both popularized it during Christmas celebrations in 1867. But there is no doubt that the revolutionary verses were composed by Lola Rodríguez de Tió.

Lola Rodríguez de Tió was a revolutionary and a poet. She was among the leaders of the political movement against Spain—a role which forced her into exile for most of her life. She lived part of that exile in New York where she worked with José Martí in helping plan the Cuban Revolution of 1895.

According to Puerto Rican historian, Loida Figueroa, she wrote the verses—some say by Belandier's request—in such a way "that they could make the people leave their homes and take up arms." The song became a cry for liberty from Spain in 1868 at the time of the revolution known as the *Grito de Lares* (Cry of Lares) and which is marked as the date of birth of the Puerto Rican Nation.

Awake, Borinquenos,
for they've given the signal!

Awake from your sleep
for it's time to fight!

Come! The sound of cannon
will be dear to us.

At that patriotic clamor
doesn't your heart burn?

Look! The Cuban will soon be free,
the machete will give him freedom.

The drum of war announces in its beating
that the thicket is the place, the meeting place!

Most beautiful Borinquen, we have to follow Cuba;
you have brave sons who want to fight!

Let us no more seem fearful!
Let us no more, timid, permit our enslavement!

We want to be free already
and our machete is well sharpened!

Why should we, then, remain so asleep
and dead, asleep and dead to that signal?

There's no need to fear, the noise of the cannon,
for saving the homeland is the duty of the heart!

We want no more despot! Let the tyrant fall!
Women, likewise wild, will know how to fight!

We want freedom and our machete will give it to us!

Let's go, Borinquenos, let's go already,
for LIBERTY is waiting, ever so anxious!

Over the years, significant attempts have been made to introduce and popularize new versions of the song. One notable attempt was the following version written by Manuel Fernández Juncos shortly after the U.S. invasion of the island in 1898:

The land of Borinquen,
where I was born,
is a garden full of flowers
with magic charm.

A sky always blue
is the canopy over it,
and sweet lullabies
sing the waves at its feet.

When on its shores Columbus arrived,
he cried, seized with admiration:
Oh! OH! OH!

This is the pretty land
I'm looking for;
Borinquen is the daughter,
born from the sea and the sun,
the sea and the sun.

In 1952, the Commonwealth government adopted its own version—one without words—as the official hymn of the "Estado Libre Asociado" (Free Associated State).

Nevertheless, the patriotic and revolutionary verses of Lola Rodríguez de Tió remain an inspiration to countless independentistas as they are sung across the island and in the U.S. Verses, which like the sentiments they express—liberty and patriotism—have never been abandoned.

vw

PUERTO RICO AND THE BICENTENNIAL:

An Interview with Noel Colon Martínez

As we go to press, three leaders of the Puerto Rican independence movement are completing a nation-wide tour sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) as part of a build-up for the July 4th protest mobilizations.

The following is an interview with attorney Noel Colon Martínez who participated in nearly a dozen activities in Chicago, Madison, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and St. Louis between April 30 and May 7.

Noel Colon currently heads the international section of the Puerto Rican Committee to Free the Five Nationalist Prisoners. Up until very recently he was president of the Puerto Rican Peace Council and led the Puerto Rican delegation to the Havana Puerto Rican Solidarity Conference in September, 1975, in that capacity. Noel Colon also ran for the governorship of Puerto Rico in 1972 on the ticket of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), which he has since left.

The other leaders who were invited to the U.S., Margarita Mergal and Luis Rivera Pagan, are currently touring California and the Mid-Atlantic states respectively. Mergal is active in Puerto Rico's women's movement and is a faculty member at the University of Puerto Rico. Rivera Pagan, active in the Nationalist Prisoners Committee, is the coordinator of the Committee of Christians for Socialism in Puerto Rico. Mergal and Rivera Pagan are also former leaders of the PIP.

What are the strongest impressions of your visit to the Midwest?

For me, someone who has never been in the U.S. for more than five days at a time, the tour was a tremendous revelation. I was looking forward to coming and seeing firsthand the kind of support which exists among the U.S. people for our struggle. It is reassuring to learn that a movement is developing in your country that supports our independence. However, it seems to me that there is a need for a great deal of education about Puerto Rico. Many people did not even know where to find Puerto Rico on a map!

While many progressive people are very well acquainted with the details of the struggles, for instance, in Angola and Chile, which of course is a good and important thing, those same people seem to know very little about the struggle in the principal colony of the U.S.—Puerto Rico.

I would welcome any opportunity to come back and speak to more people. I believe by simply putting forward the basic facts about colonialism, people can draw their own conclusions about why we need our independence.

What is your view of the "American Bicentennial"? It is something to be protested, of course. I would like to be in Philadelphia on July 4th with you as you demonstrate to the world the hypocrisy of the American way of life and expose the myth of great prosperity and well-being. And, most particularly, for us Puerto Ricans, to join in demanding independence for Puerto Rico.

We view the fact that you are raising the demand for the freedom of our country before the eyes of the world on July 4th as an important juncture in the development of international solidarity for our struggle. After all, it is your

government that is colonizing us, and it is the duty of all self-conscious North Americans to support the struggle for our freedom from your government. While the fruits of your "first" independence struggle against the British in 1776 may be sour, at least you achieved that "first" independence while we have not yet attained ours. People in the United States can understand that analogy and act on it, especially since the United States, once 13 colonies, is now itself a great colonizing power in the world.

Getting back to my point about education. I hope there will be a massive turnout in Philadelphia. But to really rally masses of people in support of our struggle, you must explain to them that we share a common enemy. The same federal laws and regulations intervene into our lives; we work for the same bosses. Puerto Rico is an unwilling part of the U.S. imperialist system.

At this time in particular it is very important to alert the people of the U.S. to the repression in Puerto Rico. It is a mirror for what is possible in this country.

What do you think about the solidarity movement in the U.S.?

I think the solidarity movement in the U.S. is a critical force for us. While the struggle of Puerto Ricans will ultimately insure the full liberation of our country, the solidarity movement can play an important role in awakening the consciousness of people in the U.S. to what your government is doing. A mass movement against the U.S. government's role in Puerto Rico from within the U.S. can exert an important, internal pressure that can materially benefit our struggle. You must remember the vital support the anti-war movement gave to the Vietnamese people. But that support only became massive after the bombings and military invasions began.

I think the PRSC has tremendous potential and I have encouraged people to join with you wherever I spoke. By the kind of campaigns you are leading—against the Compact, for the freedom of the five Nationalist prisoners—and the educational tasks you are carrying out, you are laying the basis for what must become a massive and influential political force in the U.S.

WHAT IS THE PUERTO RICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE?

The PRSC is a nationwide organization of individuals, organized in twenty local chapters, who support the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico and self-determination for the Puerto Rican people. We are opposed to the brutal imperialist domination of the island of Puerto Rico by our country, the United States. As freedom loving citizens of our country we demand independence for Puerto Rico!

Membership in PRSC is open to all persons who support independence for Puerto Rico.

I would like to join the PRSC. Please send me the committee's political statement. Enclosed is my \$7.50 for membership (which includes a \$6.00 subscription to *Puerto Rico Libre*), \$5.00 rate for students and unemployed persons.

Thousands March on May 1

San Juan, May 1—In a spectacular torch-lit parade, over eight thousand persons, marching under the banner "for trade union unity," commemorated International Workers Day in San Juan.

The march was organized by the United Workers Movement (MOU), the National Commission on Trade Union Unity, the United Front of Workers and the Puerto Rican Women's Federation.

Sixto Mercado, Vice President of the Operators and Cement Workers Union, speaking at the rally said: "In spite of repression against the leadership of the unions and persecution by the FBI there are many more workers here today than last year."

In the main address, Pedro Grant, coordinator of the MOU, announced the formation of regional organizing committees in Ponce, Mayaguez, Arecibo and Aguadilla. These committees are the first step in the creation of a Puerto Rican Workers' Central, he explained.

The General Confederation of Workers would be a giant step forward in strengthening the scores of small independent unions by promoting industry-wide coordination of organizing drives, strikes, etc.

Chavis Collapses at Hearing

Raleigh, N.C., May 7—Civil rights leader Rev. Benjamin Chavis ended the 21st day of his "spiritual fast and political hunger strike" by filing a landmark prisoner's suit against officials of the North Carolina Department of Corrections charging violations of his constitutional rights. Chavis is a member of the National Board of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

Rev. Chavis is one of the "Wilmington 10," nine young Black men and one white woman, civil rights activists serving a combined total of 282 years for defending a Black church from a four-day armed siege by the Ku Klux Klan in 1971.

The suit stems from the treatment of Rev. Chavis since he began serving his 34-year sentence in February. First assigned to Caledonia Prison, his life was threatened by guards and he was placed in solitary confinement for preaching a sermon without permission of prison authorities. State Corrections Department regulations do not require such permission.

The lawsuit and the hunger strike both seek immediate relief with the transfer of Chavis to a regular prison for inmates in good health.

The National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression is urging telegrams of protest of Rev. Chavis' treatment.

treatment and demands for his transfer to Governor James Holshouser, State Capitol, Raleigh, N.C. 27602.

Rev. Ben Chavis



Grand Jury Probe Continues

New York, May 21—Two more Puerto Rican *independientistas* have been subpoenaed by a grand jury in New York, investigating bombings of public buildings in this city over the past few years. Police have attributed the bombings to alleged Puerto Rican terrorists.

This is the same grand jury which called Lurelida Torres, three other *independientistas* and most recently Martha Schwartz, a member of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

The couple, Julio and Joan Lois Rosado, members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, were informed on May 7 that they must appear before the grand jury, after refusing to talk to the FBI.

Using the same method that has been used in the cases of numerous other independence supporters visited by the FBI in the past few months, agents reportedly harassed the couple at their home and attempted to intimidate them by questioning their neighbors.

Julio Rosado is a journalist and Joan Lois is a teacher in a day care center.

Velazquez Freed

New York, May 15—On Thursday, May 13, a Federal judge suspended the five-year sentence of Jose Velazquez, Central Committee member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and put him on a 2-year probationary period. Velazquez had been accused by the U.S. government of refusal to serve in the Armed Forces. The case differed from others of this kind in that Velazquez based his refusal on the fact that he could not serve a country which had colonized his own.

There has been evidence of political persecution also. Michael Ratner, Velazquez's attorney, had documentation showing that the U.S. District Attorney had instructed the local prosecutor in charge of the case to "punish" Velazquez for his political affiliations.

It was also revealed that the Intelligence Division of the New York Police and the FBI had been investigating Velazquez before his arrest.

Broaden Forces Against Sterilization Abuse

New York, May 8—The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA) and the Third World Women's Alliance held an educational forum on sterilization abuse to assess the possibility of establishing a broadly based coalition of women's, community, church, medical and legal groups to lead the defense of New York City municipal sterilization guidelines now under attack in a federal suit.

A conference to found the Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse is set for Saturday, June 19. The Coalition will initiate a campaign to defend and enforce New York City's guidelines. It will also push for public disclosure of the corporate interests and government funding of population control organizations and for an immediate end to the massive sterilization of Puerto Rican women. For further information: CESA c/o TWWA, 244-48 West 27 Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10001.)



Jose Che Velazquez

Black Students Support Puerto Rico

Washington, D.C. April 17—At the annual national convention of the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA) held at the Howard University Law School, the more than 500 delegates from throughout the U.S. overwhelmingly endorsed a resolution supporting the self-determination and independence of all U.S. colonial possessions (including the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone in Panama, and the Micronesian Islands in the Pacific) and colonial peoples.

Although focusing on support for the national liberation movements in Puerto Rico, the Black law students unequivocally expressed their strong distaste for the "racism" and "ethnocentrism" of U.S. foreign policy in general. BALSA specifically condemned on the same grounds, the policies, laws and regulations, and institutions created by the U.S. government and imposed on the Puerto Rican Nation.

The BALSA conference took particular issue with the purely political nature of the continued imprisonment of 5 Puerto Rican Nationalists held in U.S. penitentiaries since the early 1950's and their inhuman treatment by politically motivated U.S. prison authorities.

The delegates condemned the Puerto Ricans' incarceration as "illegal", not in accord with international law, objectionable on U.S. Constitutional grounds, and an infringement of Puerto Rico's sovereignty. The Black American organization explicitly de-

manded the unconditional and immediate release of the Puerto Rican Nationalists.

The BALSA convention delegates strongly endorsed the call of "international solidarity with the struggle for Puerto Rican independence" and noted their opposition to any U.S. policies and laws which would further dependence by peoples on the U.S. It was pointed out that the adoption of the proposed "Compact for Permanent Union" would impose a permanent colonial status on Puerto Rico, in diametric conflict with United Nations policy declarations—which were endorsed by the U.S. concerning self-determination and independence of peoples. The effort of the U.S. to legalize a permanent colony could make any independence movement or party, any discussion of independence, and any participation by independence candidates in elections, treasonous activity, as well as prevent any United Nations monitoring of violations of human rights and international laws by the U.S.

BALSA is a national law student organization. It is non-partisan, and is concerned with the professional development and the legal rights of Black people in the U.S.

Guarantee UN Talks

United Nations, May 23—A delegation from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) headed by its Secretary-General, Juan Mari Bras, met last Wednesday with Salim Ahmed Samir, president of the Committee on Decolonization at the United Nations.

The Ambassador from Tanzania promised the delegation that the case of Puerto Rico would be discussed in the Decolonization Committee this summer.

This meeting is part of a diplomatic offensive planned by the PSP to guarantee international support for the independence movement. Delegations from PSP will meet with representatives of participating countries in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to be held in Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka, next August. PSP has observer status in all meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Eight thousand workers strong fight the way in their march on May 1st in Puerto Rico.



available to prove one element of the offense... We did not know until this time that these documents were not available to us... In view of that, we are duly bound to inform that we cannot proceed with the prosecution of this case. [our emphasis]

The Court: It is not clear in my mind. When was this evidence stolen, on its way here to Court?

Mr. Quiles: It was not stolen on the way to the Court. Some of the material was... pursuant to instructions of the FBI, sent to the United States for examination... On the way it appeared that an airman that worked on the airplane stole some of the material.

The Court: When did this take place?

Mr. Quiles: I just found out recently, Sir.

The Court: I didn't ask you when you found out, I asked when it took place.

Mr. Quiles: I would have to confer downstairs where they have a report... Now this is in relation to the blasting case. But the more serious problems are the documents that I referred to which are not available.

The Court: What documents?

Mr. Quiles: The documents that led to the house of Mr. Delfin Ramos and also the fact that other documents relating to the irremite will not be available; the irremite that was stolen at the plant.

The Court: Would not be available when, at all?

Mr. Quiles: At all, Sir.

[The judge couldn't believe his ears. ed.]

The Court: And when were you advised of these facts? [Avoiding the question Quiles continued. ed.]

Mr. Quiles: ...Apparently we don't have them and without the evidence we cannot proceed.

[Taken by surprise themselves at the government's blatant misconduct and total lack of evidence, the lawyers for the defense collected their thoughts and presented a motion to dismiss all charges. In an unusual decision Judge Torruellas dismissed all charges with prejudice, which means that the case can never be reopened. The defense then made the following closing remarks.]

Mr. Schapp: ...If those blasting caps were stolen over a year ago and someone in this office, whether it was Mr. Quiles or Mr. Morales Sanchez [U.S. Attorney for the District of Puerto Rico] knew about it and they could not prove one element of the crime, I would think that the Court has an obligation to inquire further into whether or not this Court has been contempt [sic] by this conduct... In addition, if the deed to my client's house has been lost, I would like to know this happened.

Ms. Schneider: ...I request that Your Honor hold an evidentiary hearing summoning all the U.S. Attorneys who have been in any way responsible for the prosecution of this case inquiring as to the responsibility for the prosecution of this case when the evidence was not available... that Your Honor award costs to those attorneys who have been representing Mr. Ramos without a fee for over a year and a half because of the government's unwarranted and totally misconduct-based prosecution of Mr. Ramos.

We think that there is a need for an investigation. That the circumstances which have not been disclosed by Mr. Quiles at this late date require that Your Honor investigate this matter fully so that it can be clear on the record who is responsible for the conduct of the United States Attorney's Office in this matter and who is responsible for the subjugation of Mr. Ramos and all of the attorneys who have assisted him in this case. [Defense lawyers are considering a damage suit on behalf of Delfin Ramos and his family.]



Delfin Ramos

Case Has Repercussions

The shock waves created by this exposure of glaring misconduct by the United States Justice Department are reaching far beyond the confines of the courtroom of the Ramos trial. It is already apparent that the Justice Department will have to cease its persecution of the independence movement through at least one Grand Jury, which was called to investigate the alleged theft of irremite. It became evident in the Delfin Ramos trial that the government could not prove the theft of this irremite ever occurred, thus invalidating the basis for the Grand Jury.

Lawyers for Edgar Maury Santiago, an independentist who served five days in prison for refusing to appear before the said Grand Jury, immediately went to Court pointing to these incredible revelations, and moved "that the Court appoint one of the counsel for Edgar Maury as a special prosecutor to investigate the misconduct of the government."

An investigation of this type would open to question the very legality of the grand jury, since the purpose of grand juries are to evaluate evidence to lead to a possible indictment and not to gather evidence.

This investigation and a related investigation in the Delfin Ramos case would make it impossible for the U.S. Government to cover up the gross pattern of repression it is carrying out against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The implications of this incredible exposure go beyond these two cases. It was not long ago when Attorney General Edward H. Levi revealed that "the largest newly discovered COINTELPRO operation aimed at militant groups which sought Puerto Rican independence." And in a sworn statement made in December of 1974, Gloria Galdes De Bianco, a former secretary for the FBI in San Juan, revealed that "two squads of about 20 FBI officers each were basically assigned to what they called 'national security,' whose main work consisted in collecting information, penetrating and harassing the Puerto Rican independence leaders and organizations."

Of course, we have been assured by the Director of the FBI that these illegal activities have been curtailed. But the Delfin Ramos trial is positive proof that the FBI and the U.S. Justice Department have not ended their persecution of the independence movement. A thorough investigation into the U.S. Government's misconduct in this case should reveal a fuller story. **DB**

of other members of the Subcommittee about any activity around the bill were answered negatively, this draft was circulating and being discussed and that in the time between the March public hearings in San Juan and the May 10 meeting, a covert Compact campaign was being waged in the backrooms of Congress.

When the Subcommittee reconvened publicly on May 10 it was crystal clear that at least the pro-compactor forces had made up their minds to act on the bill as expeditiously as possible. When Burton was asked at the end of the May 10 meeting why no witnesses were called that day and if witnesses could testify at future meetings on the new draft, he answered with a strong no, he had heard enough. All he was interested in now was getting the opinions of the various Executive administrative departments who have jurisdiction over provisions in the bill on taxation, tariffs, navigable waters, etc.

However, since the public appearance of the new draft on May 10 serious conflicting interests within Congress, Federal agencies and U.S. political parties have surfaced and threatened to impede the progress of the bill.

For instance, a reading of the new draft quickly reveals that Burton and his rewrite team took none of the substantive criticisms of the old draft into account. The most glaring example is what was not done to answer the serious objections raised to the anti-labor and anti-environmental provisions. Instead of making accommodations for the labor and environmental lobbies that vigorously fought against these two aspects of the old bill, Burton's new draft gives the power to determine the applicability of Federal labor and environmental laws to Puerto Rico to an appointed 12-person Joint Commission, and Executive fiat. This is how it would work:

The Joint Commission, to be composed of six Puerto Ricans and six North Americans, would send recommendations to the President and if the Executive approves and Congress raises no objection within 60 days, then the Federal law no longer applies. The Puerto Rican people are completely removed from the picture, and 12 people, acting in the interests of the U.S. government, the colonial regime and the corporations whose interests they protect, will decide the wages to be paid to Puerto Rican workers, the kind of protection Puerto Rico's ecology will get from her petro-chemical corporations, oil spills, etc.

Other concerns that are not addressed were those objections raised to the old bill by the Republican representatives on the Subcommittee and representatives of various Federal agencies who believed that the first draft gave Puerto Rico more "rights" than any of the 50 states. We can be sure that this concern goes beyond the Republicans on the Subcommittees, and is probably the

most widely-held one among U.S. ruling class sectors who oppose it.

This was vividly illustrated on jurisdiction over navigable waters during the May 10 meeting and a later one on May 17.

These conflicts are reflected in the current battle between the colonial political parties. El Nueva Dia, the pro-statehood daily, turns every bit of news and rumor out of Washington, D.C., which points to the Compact's imminent defeat, into front page copy. El Mundo, its pro-Commonwealth adversary, in turn accuses the statehood party of behind-the-scenes deals with opposition in the White House. The pro-Commonwealth Popular Democratic Party wants to use the Compact to try to resolve the colonial economic crisis and to win the governorship this November. The New Progressive Party asserts that the only way to deal with this crisis is to make Puerto Rico a state.

In an unexpected move at the May 17 meeting, Burton, Executive Secretary Rosa Bornstein read a statement from the PRSC demanding that the bill be thrown out and that the Subcommittee fulfill its constitutional obligation of ceding Puerto Rico its independence. The statement was met with loud applause. Jaime Benitez was overheard telling a colleague as they were leaving the room that "this [the left opposition to the Compact] was why the bill must pass."

After Bornstein read the PRSC's statement, Arthur Kinoy, a constitutional lawyer who gave testimony on behalf of the PRSC National Board in early February, asked Burton for an opportunity to address the Subcommittee as well. While he was denied the time, he was permitted to submit a legal memorandum to the public record of the proceedings.

In his statement Kinoy asks the Subcommittee for ample time to respond to the new draft as a "Compact witness" who has the right to respond to any and all drafts of the bill.

Representatives of the PRSC believe that the feeding between the opponents and proponents of the bill within the Puerto Rican and U.S. ruling circles can cause a significant delay in the bill. However, they also maintain that the Compact will not die without a bitter battle because Burton and his allies, as well as the State Department and the U.S. financial interest groups that would benefit from the bill are determined to see the bill passed.

In this light, the PRSC is continuing, "more determined than ever" to defeat the Compact this year. All supporters of Puerto Rican independence are asked to write their local Congressional representatives and Senators demanding that they oppose this legislation and that there be a massive turnout throughout the country on June 7 at demonstrations sponsored by the July 4th Coalition where "Stop the Compact" is a key demand. **GW**

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GRAND JURY (Continued from P. 1)

"The only reason I am being subpoenaed is because of my political activities."

Schwartz, who has been a consistent fighter for the cause of Puerto Rican independence, is a leading member of the Mass Party Organizing Committee, a socialist organization.

"A major commitment of the Mass Party is solidarity with the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for sovereignty and self-determination. We see that struggle not only as a humanitarian effort to end the suffering of an oppressed people but as having a direct relationship to the coming of socialism to the U.S."

"I am now enthusiastically participating in the N.Y. July 4th Coalition which is mobilizing for a large, peaceful demonstration in Philadelphia on that day. The demonstration puts forward the independence of Puerto Rico among its demands."

"I am also a psychiatric social worker at a community mental health clinic. I am known for active work in my community on two levels. As a professional, I am trusted by my clients, and believe that I am respected by my colleagues, as well as by the school, police and other officials with whom I deal. In that capacity I try to help people work through their personal crises. Outside of my working hours, I work to eradicate what I believe to be the underlying social causes of much of the suffering that I see."

"Because I am publicly identified with my political beliefs, an attack on my right to express them is a public threat to my community, to my clients, to my colleagues and to my political associates."

"That this threat comes now is no accident. We must not forget what time it is. It is a year during which the economic crisis and inflationary depression have taken a toll upon millions of working people while the government has protected the solvency of the banks at the expense of the quality of people's lives. This is the year after the Vietnamese wrested the independence of their country from foreign domination... when colonized people around the world are successfully demanding their independence. It is the year when the government is trying to cover up the deteriorating conditions at home and its massive defeats abroad through a distorted Bicentennial celebration. This 'celebration' is all the more farcical as we read the daily exposures of FBI actions to destroy people's leaders, movements and the Bill of Rights itself... It is a year when the people's movement plans a massive, peaceful, counter-demonstration on July 4th in Philadelphia."

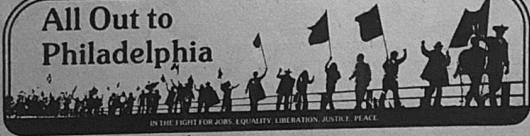
"It is in this year that the FBI is attempting to harass and libel political dissidents in an effort to quash their activities."

"I cannot collaborate in this abuse. To do so would be to take a sledge hammer to the Bill of Rights and to the documents on which this country was founded."

"I will not collaborate, and I will not be separated from the legitimate struggle of which I am a part. Instead we put the government on notice that we will not be intimidated. We will continue to move forward in common struggle to bring about a new society based on freedom, justice and true equality."

"All out July 4th!"

All Out to Philadelphia



IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS, EQUALITY, LIBERATION, JUSTICE, PEACE

For a people's July 4th

The July 4th Coalition, a group of nearly a hundred progressive organizations, is planning a massive popular demonstration in Philadelphia July 4th. The Bicentennial, we think, presents progressives in the U.S. with the opportunity and the challenge to show the nation and the world that Gerald Ford and the U.S. government do not speak in the name of the people. A people's demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4th answers that challenge.

But we won't be able to mount this massive type of mobilization without your help. Your financial support is imperative. Whatever you can give will go to the most important anti-imperialist demonstration of this Bicentennial year. See you in Philadelphia.

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☐ Please send me more information about the July 4 Coalition.

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